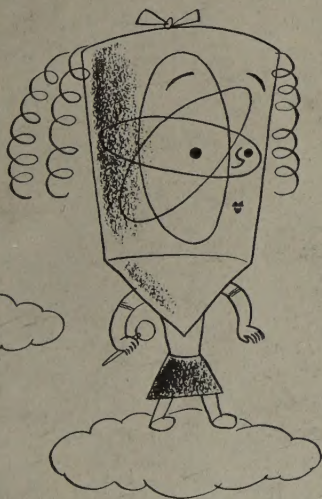


Fellowship

July 1948

Vol. XIV—No. 7

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Three years old and growing like a weed!

A Vote for Wallace Will Be—

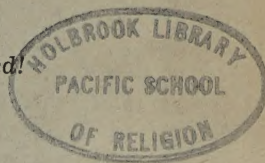
A Vote for Peace, claims Kenneth Ripley Forbes

A Vote for the Communists, fears A. J. Muste

Japan Three Years After, by Theodore D. Walser

The Energy of the Spirit, by Muriel Lester

Corporal Benny Speaks Up! by Alfred Hassler



THIS MONTH

A. J. Muste gives his rather critical opinion of Wallace and his movement and Kenneth Ripley Forbes tells why he is supporting Wallace as heartily as he can. . . . Ted Walser, long-time missionary in Japan, discusses the present economic and political plight of that country. . . . Corporal Benny, an airborne veteran of the U. S. Army, gives an interview to FELLOWSHIP'S Editor. . . . Muriel Lester movingly calls us to release "The Energy of the Spirit" and the second quarterly PRB survey is included, on the subject of Gandhi and Gandhism.

NEXT MONTH

A statement to the conference of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam this August, by 70 prominent religious leaders, calling for consideration of the pacifist position and a moving appeal by the late German theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer, which was addressed to the Ecumenical Council of Christian Churches in 1934, under somewhat similar circumstances. . . . A. J. Muste crashes the pages of FELLOWSHIP again with a reply to Reinhold Niebuhr's gospel of defeatism and despair and Morris Milgram, for many years Secretary of the Workers Defense League, will discuss the difficulties of working with Communists and the next issue will be September—no August number.

FELLOWSHIP

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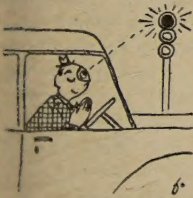
Subheads

Puzzle

A dispatch from the American Zone of Germany reports that officials there are puzzled and disturbed by the fact that hatred of the Jews, which used to be widespread among Germans, is being replaced by hatred of Negroes and Russians. Authorities are wondering where their "education in democracy" went wrong.

Intercession

An anonymous Virginian has proposed that American motorists offer a prayer for peace every time they stop for a red light, according to *Religious News Service*. We're all for prayers for peace, but we doubt that they ought to be mixed with motoring. The mind is not in the proper state for it, for one thing. The attempt to scoot through while the amber is still on, the squealing stop when the attempt



fails, the worry about whether the lad in back has brakes that will hold short of your back seat, the mental crouch necessary to get away just that fraction of a section before the green goes up—these are not conducive to effective prayer. Considering the number of auto fatalities in this country, we suspect the Almighty would be just as pleased if motorists would resolve just to stop on red, and wait quietly and patiently for the green light before going again.

Free

A foreign-dominated east-European country made news in May when the government, following the assassination of a government official, took 200 political prisoners out of prison, where they had been for four years and shot them. The chief official agent of the foreign government that dominates this country stated on the same day that he had no criticism of its judicial system.

When the only remaining Socialist paper criticized the executions, two of the editors were arrested. In a radio talk the dominating country's agent told the people that they enjoyed "complete freedom of press, complete freedom of assembly, complete freedom of parlia-

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mentary procedure," which is a big claim to make for any country.

The east-European country in which all these events took place is Greece. The foreign country whose agents assured the Greek people they were very, very free, is the United States.

Typical

A sociologist at the annual meeting of the American Association on Mental Deficiency the other day described for her colleagues the "typical American moron." Sternly abjuring any unkind asides, we merely report that the typical moron prefers motion pictures to all other forms of recreation, reads a newspaper and a magazine (not FELLOWSHIP) regularly, is an habitual radio listener, and has experienced some form of military service, usually the Army.

Overfed

Some Congressmen have shown a touching concern recently lest displaced persons in European camps become soft as a result of high living. Senator Eastland told the Senate that DPs are "overfed inmates of camps who have all the luxuries of life, autos and servants, at their disposal." Even allowing for a boyish tendency to exagger-



ate, one can see that the Mississippi legislator's heart is in the right place. After all the pushing around the DPs have had, learning to get along on the scraps they could beg or steal, it would hardly be good policy to spoil them at this late date with three squares a day!

Happily, the House of Represent-

atives, having some equally concerned gentlemen on its roster, took care of that danger. When the House approved a \$70 million appropriation for the International Refugee Organization (six days after approving \$13½ billion for armaments), it tacked on a condition that none of the money could be spent on diets higher than those of the surrounding countryside. While this situation exists in only a few camps in the U.S. Zone of Germany, where the civilian diet runs between 1500 and 1900 calories a day, and while the nutritional level in all camps is said by experts to be "dangerously low," one can't be too careful. The House action, unless it is dropped in the final appropriations bill, will eliminate any danger of coddling just because these people have had a few years of hell. Moreover, it will put an end to the sentimental nonsense of giving supplemental rations to children, expectant mothers, and tubercular inmates. After all, Americans only average a little more than 3500 calories a day!

Counter-Attack

It must be admitted that sometimes they do these things better in Britain. Philip Noel-Baker, British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations (and a World War I CO), was asked by an interviewer about the extent of Communist influence in the colonies and the way in which it was being met. His reply, published in the May *United Nations World*, was: "There are no many Communist agitators in the British colonies. The few there are trying to exploit any grievances or poverty they may find. We find that the best reply is to remedy the grievance." Messrs. Mundt, Nixon, Thomas, et al, please note.

Telltale Trivia

"As personable as he looks, (Gov. Earl) Warren is a member of the American Legion . . . and the Native Sons of the Golden West."

—*Life*, May 10, 1948

"General de Gaulle is forming strong-arm squads in case of trouble at his meetings. 'Each squad will be a commando of eight men, mostly ex-soldiers,' said an official at the general's headquarters. 'They will be experts in unarmed combat and will wear arm-bands on civilian suits.'"

—*London Daily Express*,
March 4, 1948

Bulwark

United Nations circles have been all agog over the agreement to label genocide a crime. (In case you haven't been keeping up, genocide is the mass murder of a people, as in the case of Hitler and the Jews). They call it a great advance, and several delegates have been observed looking almost happy, an unusual occurrence at UN these days.

Even without the UN agreement our agents of justice have been hanging German genociders right and left. A good thing, too, according to Captain Michael Angelo Musmanno, who presided over the last U. S. military tribunal at Nuremberg, which tried twenty-four persons for the murder of two million.

Nuremberg stands as a "bulwark of peace," according to Captain Musmanno, because "no longer can any individual or groups of individuals commit mass murder and expect exoneration on the argument of national necessity." That sounds like a good argument for anybody who expects to refuse to be drafted next time. If even na-

tional necessity doesn't justify mass murder, then nobody can use the weapons of the next war—atomic and saturation bombing, and bacterial weapons—and not expect to be hanged when the war ends.

He can't even say that he just did what he was told. Says Captain Musmanno: the trial demonstrated conclusively that "no military man can hide behind the order issued by a superior when the act is illegal!"

Silver Linings

The Soviet-Finnish Mutual Aid treaty "adheres scrupulously to the letter and the spirit of the United Nations Charter. Twice in seven clauses Stalin specifically committed his nation to act in accordance with UN rules."—*United Nations World*.

* * *

Americans are spending about \$10 million a month on gift parcels to Germany.

* * *

The House of Delegates of the New York State Medical Society adopted without a dissenting voice a resolution calling on the American Medical Association to prohibit the exclusion of Negro physicians from county medical societies.

"Piles of comic books were under police scrutiny today after Commissioner Harry S. Toy charged they contained liberal doses of Communist propaganda . . ."



—AP dispatch
from Detroit

Is it a bird? Is it a plane? No, it's Comrade Superman!

A VOTE for WALLACE

A VOTE FOR PEACE

claims KENNETH RIPLEY FORBES

Philadelphia minister and candidate for Presidential Elector on the Wallace ticket in Pennsylvania

FOR A LONG TIME pacifists have divided sharply on political and economic issues, while agreeing more and more ardently that, in today's world, war is the supreme sin because it inevitably breeds in human life every other sin which theology has managed to discover and classify. And as state and national elections have come along, we have voted conscientiously according to our economic beliefs or prejudices, but borne witness to our common pacifist faith, even to imprisonment and obloquy, as an over-arching truth transcending the political and economic debates and war-cries.

The time has now come—and it arrived with frightful suddenness—when this business of keeping our economic beliefs and votes and our pacifist faith in thought-tight compartments is no longer possible to thinking men and women for two very cogent reasons.

First, it has become shockingly, fearfully clear that certain economic and social doctrines are inevitably expressed by activities that lead directly to war. Mass production as the effective tool of a profit-economy means that war is the only state of things in which mass-production goods can be completely absorbed, and provide a profit and full employment. The free enterprise debauch of the 'twenties

would seem to have proved this rather conclusively. Therefore it must have begun to dawn on the extreme "right" among pacifists that their economic thinking must be drastically modified to the point where, if they are capitalists (i.e., owners of investment money or active operators of big industry) they must actively cooperate in making the economic changes necessary in their industries. And, if they are just rank-and-file citizens who have sympathized and voted with the diehard free-enterprise capitalists, they must prepare to support proposals for drastic change.

Secondly, world peace has now become the absolute prerequisite for the survival of any civilization as we have known it. All thinking men today realize that war, in this age of atomic fission and other "scientific" means of mass destruction, is utterly suicidal, for victor and vanquished alike, and means the complete liquidation of democracy throughout the world. (The military are, by-and-large, not thinking men; they are creatures of conditioned reflexes.) So, logically, pacifism has at last come into

(Please turn to page 9)

WILL BE —

A VOTE FOR THE COMMUNISTS

fears A. J. MUSTE

Secretary of the FOR, with a background of many years' experience in left wing movements.

IF I HAD NEEDED a convincing argument to support the conviction that Henry Wallace should not be trusted by the pacifists and other peace-loving people of the United States, as a leader of the peace cause, his own recent book *Towards World Peace** would have supplied it.

At the moment a good many such people are thinking seriously of voting for Wallace with the feeling that they can thereby vote for idealism and against war and crass power politics. Wallace does often state his case in idealistic and religious terms. For example, in his book he raises the question: "How long can Machiavellianism as a guide to conduct, live in the same world with the atomic bomb?" and concludes: "Either a worldwide practical religious approach takes hold of the hearts and minds of us all or we shall experience the incredible folly of World War III and the ensuing chaos."

But how would Wallace apply this "practical religious approach" to the Russian-American crisis? He gives a direct answer on pages 68-9. I quote at some length and italicize certain phrases because it seems to be so important that we should realize exactly what he is saying. The United States must "let the Russians know it is willing to

discuss limits of expansion and intervention in the affairs of other nations, in somewhat the same way as the British and Russians arrived at an agreement with regard to the Near East in 1907. This will come in a realistic discussion of the logistics of geopolitical power. . . . The Russians must know the points beyond which we cannot tolerate further Russian expansion."

On page 92 he suggests one of those points at which the United States would draw the line, presumably with justification. He speaks of the Arabian situation, with "more than half the world's known oil resources. England and America, holding Arabian oil concessions, feel that if *Russia oversteps due bounds here, forcible action will have to be taken. My own belief is that if Russia should move into Central Turkey, World War III would begin.*"

On their part, the Russians "must be given the right to tell us the limits beyond which we cannot intervene without creating the danger of war at such time as they become strong enough to wage war. Both countries should speak frankly on these points as a preliminary to bargaining and settlement." As if to leave no loophole for misun-

* *Towards World Peace*, by Henry A. Wallace. Reynal and Hitchcock. 121 pp. \$1.75.

derstanding, he points out that the Russians "are working toward the same geographical objectives which the Czars sought for centuries."

In other words (1) Russia and the United States are to determine by bargaining the extent to which they are to expand across the earth and intervene "in the affairs of other nations"; (2) the other nations have presumably little or nothing to say; (3) an example of how the thing is done is the malodorous Russian-British "agreement with respect to the Near East in 1907," one of the crassest examples of big-power bargaining in the period when World War I was shaping up and starting the chain-reaction which now threatens to destroy mankind; and (4) the ideological basis for this bargaining is to be "the logistics of geopolitical power"—that is, the power relationships of the two countries, or power politics.

A Two-World Approach

If this is a religious approach, my name is Donald Duck. This is accepting the division of the world into two spheres of influence—two worlds—though Mr. Wallace blandly says it is not. If both these "proud" countries, as he describes them, will thus clearly lay down the lines which each must not cross, then "more and more during the next twenty-five years our two civilizations will draw together."

If that is so, and this kind of line-drawing and geopolitical bargaining are the basis for peace and understanding, then we have peace and understanding now, for that is exactly the way in which a temporary and precarious equilibrium was achieved in 1907!

Since the situation is critical, let me take the space to give one more

illustration of the hopeless contradiction in which Wallace's thinking is involved. In one section of his short book he criticizes American "monopolistic capitalism"—for the most part justly in my opinion—as inadequate to the needs of the American people and as back of the drive toward war with Russia. He contends that it is "impossible for reactionary, monopolistic capitalism to prevent" such disaster as overtook the country in the late twenties and early thirties "unless it transmutes itself into national socialism" and such a "dictatorship of the right inevitably ends in war." (page 75).

On page 114, however, he declares: "Russia must make it clear to her Communist friends in other countries that *reactionary capitalism still has some years of useful service to humanity* in the Western democracies before it passes into the discard." That is, provided "it will only stop pushing the United States into war"—in other words, provided it will deny its own nature as previously described by the author.

On the other hand, "the reactionary capitalists who control the United States must tell their friends exactly what they said in the fall of 1941: 'We must play ball with the Russians, our lives depend upon it.'" But the reactionary capitalists said that, during the war, precisely so that they might survive to fight Russia and communism at its close; as the Kremlin made its alliance with the United States so that it might survive to fight "American imperialism and fascism" after the war.

If it is suggested that Henry Wallace is not really guilty of these patent contradictions in his thinking, and that only his English is at

fault, I can only answer that such lapses in English on the part of a presidential candidate and the alleged prophet and statesman of the peace movement in history's most desperate crisis, is a fatal weakness, if not a crime.

Moreover, this lack of clarity in his own thinking makes him *as a political figure*—I do not say as a man—the instrument and the captive of *his only organized support*—I do not speak of individual voters—the Communist Party and its front organizations. In the realm of objective political reality, a vote for Wallace is a vote for the Communist Party.

But—A Vote for Peace?

There are nevertheless a considerable number of sincere and thoughtful people who would say: "Granted that all of this is true, a large Wallace vote will be interpreted by whoever is elected as a rebuke to those who are responsible for our present bellicose foreign policy and would lead to a more cautious and conciliatory approach to the USSR."

Obviously we are here dealing with calculations of political trends, psychological reactions; in other words, matters which are to a considerable extent intangible and speculative. That constitutes a reason why both those who tend to be pro-Wallace and those who tend to oppose voting for him should avoid being too dogmatic. But it also makes it all the more important that each should make his contribution to the discussion.

My own opinion is that the idea that a large vote for Wallace will lead to an essentially less bellicose policy toward Russia is a delusion, and I believe that the history of recent years in Europe supports

that opinion. As Czechoslovakia has most recently illustrated, the various People's Parties or Popular Fronts into which Communists draw Socialists and other progressive groups are not means for resolving class conflict or effecting reconciliation between nations. A vote for any party or political personage who has a tie-in with the Communist Party, even if only because the Communist Party supports it or him and is not unmistakably excluded from participation in the party's or candidate's campaign, is regarded, and counts in the evolution of political forces in the country, as a vote for one side in the internal class-conflict—the Communist side—and as a vote for an appeasement policy toward Russia.

Such a vote may temporarily and on the surface have an effect on the government's attitude toward Russia, as a general may withdraw a battalion here in order to blast the enemy decisively at another point. But the real and permanent effect of such a vote is in turn to stiffen and render more intransigent the anti-Communist, anti-Russian, pro-war elements in the country and to intensify the internal class-conflict and the certainty of an eventual violent showdown, both internally and in the international field. Even the *immediate* effect is often to bring out this tendency and to secure the election of a more nationalistic and reactionary, as against a more moderate, candidate. Thus in this country at the present time many who plan to vote for Wallace will do so, though they recognize, and very likely regret, that the outward effect may be to elect a Republican, and possibly even a very reactionary Republican. Such people would feel that such an Admin-

istration would still be forced to a more conciliatory course toward Russia by a big Wallace vote.

It seems to me the analysis I have given proves that this is a big and very dangerous miscalculation. Unless somehow the Wallace movement can be completely divorced from a Communist tie-in, with the Communist Party itself repudiating it, it seems to me that a substantial Wallace vote will strengthen reaction and repression.

Communist Party Agrees

With this analysis of the effect of such movements the Communist Party, it should be noted, agrees. Its leaders and members do *not* regret the fact that the effect may be to elect a more reactionary candidate and to intensify the class-conflict and the international conflict. On the basis of their philosophy of history, they honestly believe that all this is inevitable anyway and paves the way for the eventual triumph of the revolution and the emancipation of mankind. People who do not share that philosophy and want to avoid the effects which follow its practice ought, it seems to me, to steer clear of involvement in such a maneuver.

(Parenthetically, those who are familiar with Communist Party strategy and tactics do not exclude the possibility that, should Wallace become too critical of the Communist Party, or because of some change in Russian policy, the Communist Party may repudiate Wallace before the election. If that were to happen, my guess is that the Wallace campaign would collapse. I venture to speculate that Wallace or some of his managers may have had some such possibility in mind when Wallace, in a special interview he gave to the

New York Times of April 25, stated that he would "certainly" support the United States war effort, if the country should get into war. When asked whether he thought this might happen before election day, he indicated that on the whole he thought not, though "we seem to be teetering on the brink right now." The sudden revelation on May 11 that a possible "improvement" in US-USSR relations might occur suggests how from a quite opposite angle the wind might conceivably be taken out of the sails of the Wallace movement, possibly as a result of a deliberate maneuver by a rival candidate.)

What is needed is not such a further drawing of the lines, within the nation and in our foreign relations, as support of the Wallace movement seems likely to involve, but a mediating and healing force. In the nature of the case it has to be a non-Communist and non-apartheid peace force. Tragedy is piled on tragedy for our country and for the world because the progressives, liberals, unions, and farm organizations, which ought to be flatly opposing the nation's war-course, are so uncritically *anti-Russian* and *anti-Communist* and so ignorant of how really to overcome communism that they support the war-policy. That is to say, they also line up but with the Right, with reaction, with violence, though they do not mean to do that and try to make themselves believe they do not.

It is understandable that in these circumstances many people should be convinced that there is some hope in voting for Wallace. But, as I have said, I am convinced that that also represents being "lined up," and the greatest, most desperate need of the world now is that there should be some, however few,

who avoid lining up or being lined up in this way.

Since the Socialist Party has failed to offer a platform and a candidate to take the United States unequivocally out of preparation for atomic war, the unsatisfactory choice, it seems to me, is to vote Socialist or write in the name of an out-and-out pacifist, or simply not to vote, perhaps making public the reasons for this. From one point of view the last is "ineffective," but any course will be unsatisfactory.

FORBES *continued*

its own. The mass of sober citizens are admitting today what pacifism has long maintained.

I believe that this all adds up to a very simple and conclusive total and one that puts before all pacifists a concrete and precise challenge. It is a challenge that will be accepted or rejected in the coming Presidential campaign and election. For the first time in the nation's history a Presidential campaign will be fought out on the one issue of world peace, whether we like it or not. Not the New Deal, not free enterprise, not socialism of one or another degree, but foreign policy, is the one subject that will be debated. Shall America continue a foreign policy already in effect and backed by both the old parties and by the whole vast military machine; or shall she, by the mandate of the voters, reverse that policy? The present policy is leading us inevitably to war—no pacifist needs to be convinced of the truth of that statement. But no man or group in public life of any considerable influence has offered an alternative policy except Henry Wallace and his third party, and no other will in this campaign. *A vote for Wal-*

lace is a vote for peace. That is a very simple statement which it seems to me difficult for any pacifist to deny. It is quite easy, I know, for everyone else to deny it vigorously and honestly, but their denials and all the arguments which they can muster to prove that the statement is untrue are based on the assumption that the pacifist position is false or mistaken.

Their arguments run something like this: Support of Wallace and his program increases the probability of war because it favors reducing our armed might instead of increasing it. Russia will take it as a sign of weakness and fear and will be much more likely to attack us. Withdrawing our navy from strategic points in the Mediterranean and elsewhere and stopping our arming of Greece and Turkey will make attack on these countries certain and an offensive against us only a matter of time. Therefore, a vote for Wallace is a vote for war, not peace.

Can any convinced pacifist subscribe to this sort of argument and still remain a pacifist?

But a pacifist may, perhaps, consistently argue that Wallace has no chance of being elected. He may feel, therefore, that it is better to vote for one of the old parties and so be in a position to work for a change in the bipartisan foreign policy, with the advantage of the greater influence that will come from having supported them in the election. Boring from within is more effective strategy than protesting from without. A fair enough argument, so far as it goes. But it has a fatal weakness; the weakness of a total ignorance of the minds and motivations of practical politicians.

The politician speaks and hears

the language of votes. Votes are what he lives by, hopes for and trusts in. If a foreign policy based on peacemaking and reasonable compromise with those whose system of life is different from ours can marshal votes by the million, he will listen carefully and watch his step, because he understands that language. Whether Wallace can be elected or not is an important question, but not a vital one. The vital question is whether he can roll up such an impressive total of votes—ten million, fifteen million, or more—that the politicians, the tycoons of big business, and the military will hear the language they know well and watch their step. The new administration in Washington after next January, headed by Dewey, Stassen, Taft, Vandenburg, Truman, Douglas or someone else, will weigh very carefully the evidence at hand as to the popular support they are likely to receive for the foreign policy they decide to adopt, and their decision will be based more on the size of the Wallace vote than on all other considerations put together. The number of Wallace votes will be precisely the number of individuals who will fight persistently every element in foreign policy that bears the least resemblance to what we are now familiar with as the "Truman Doctrine." The solid opposition of these millions of convinced and determined voters can make any administration futile and helpless.

A very significant instance of what Wallace's stand for a realistic peace effort can produce is, of course, the now well-publicized open letter to Stalin, with the Russian reply. It is beyond argument, I

think, that this has re-enforced a very greatly public sentiment throughout the world for a reversal of America's attitude on foreign policy.

Only a united front behind the Wallace candidacy in the coming campaign by all lovers of peace and haters of military dominance will have the least chance of forcing a drastic change of foreign policy by the new administration. Belief in a strategy of boring from within is the stupidest sort of wishful thinking. Pacifists, when they go to the polls in November, are either going to cast their votes for Wallace and possible peace or for someone else and the practical certainty of war. I can see no other alternative.

Vote Third Party

That is why I, as a pacifist, have let my name be listed as one of the slate of Presidential "Electors" on the Wallace ticket in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and why I am actively in politics for this campaign to help muster votes for the third party. My personal beliefs on economic and social issues I consider of very small importance in the present crisis, for I believe that world peace now is the one prerequisite for the survival of civilization in the future, for ourselves and for our children. So I appeal to fellow pacifists to do the logical and only politically effective thing—to raise their voices for the program of the third party now, and to cast their votes in November for Wallace and Taylor. Helping to swell the total of votes for peace will mean speaking in a language that our political and military leaders clearly understand.

The Energy of the Spirit

THE FESTIVAL OF PENTECOST has come and gone.

Millions of our fellows living around the world met together on that fiftieth morning after Easter to commemorate an event that changed history. It was the mutation of twelve inadequate men and a few women into spiritual giants. They were citizens of a small nation, forcibly occupied by a totalitarian power, obviously nobodies, who had been allotted a task which seemed ridiculously too big for them—nothing less than making the whole world understand the things on which peace depends. They didn't even know how to start it.

Then suddenly all worries disappeared. They forgot themselves and their pitiable plight. Self-consciousness and all the other tortures inflicted on man by his ego vanished. Of course they were still inadequate. But God wasn't! That was the only relevant fact. God was among them and within them. So out they all trooped, themselves so amazed and impressed that the crowds thronging the narrow streets for the Temple Festival stopped to stare at them and stayed to listen, then caught the same strange confidence—that the world after all is God's.

And it still is, inalienably. Even with its newest manifestations of evil it is God's; even with its stockpile of obscure little packets of germs which young men are being trained to drop wherever ordered;

even with its contagious lust for revenge; even with its latest brand of civil war, waged on both sides with conscription; even with its well-fed occupation forces in various countries who are required in their public announcements to refer to the half-starved people they control as "the indigenous population."

As the world is God's, there is no need for man to go along the road he has strayed into during the last few centuries. He can cut a new path out of the miasmatic jungle or hew his way through flintiest rock. Pioneering isn't just a thing of the past. Of course it's thoroughly painful to pull up, when in full career down a hill which leads to an abyss. But man can do it. He can make a turn in the road.

If anyone doubts our power to save the race from impending suicide, let him search out the reason for his lack of confidence. Perhaps it is because lately we have been relying more and more on our own cleverness and it has let us down. Perhaps we have become decadent without realizing it, escaping from the responsibility that comes with free will, retreating into criticism and analysis instead of being creative.

From these speculations let us turn to the restful objectivity of the scientist. Ponder on a conversation that took place five years ago between two friends, a well-known theologian and a leading physicist, an agnostic. The scientist began,

"We're not sure whether we're going to be successful in the methods we're using to release the energy of the atom, but if we are, I give the human race ten years in which to destroy itself." After a pause he added, looking searchingly into his friend's face, "Unless you people can manage to release the moral and spiritual energy that's in everybody."

"You people" means us Christians—you and me. The rational scientist relies on us to save the

world. I am convinced that God relies on us with even greater confidence. He sees the personal inadequacy as acutely as each of us feels it. He watched a little group of nobodies turn the course of history before, a few centuries ago in Jerusalem. They practiced remembering His presence. They forgot themselves. They reduced the ego sufficiently for the energy of the Spirit to flow through them.

Each one of us is called upon to do the same.

It Was This Way

*Again today I have not saved the world.
(My friends have been asking me to.)
But it took me so long to be neighbors
that while I was trimming my hedge
a war began between Arabs and Jews.*

*And off across the country my Congressman
dared 200,000,000 Russians to come over and fight.
Again today I have not saved the world.
And here it is, almost night.*

—William E. Stafford

On the Areopagus

*Here, on this rocky hill, the fiery Paul,
Brushing aside all art as childish show,
Preached to the men of Athens, long ago.*

*Altars of gods and godlings, great and small,
Gave him a text: "And even, I recall,
An altar to the 'God we do not know'!
This Unknown God will lay these idols low.
I know Him: I proclaim Him Lord of all."*

*The old gods tremble still to hear that Name.
Yet in their desuetude, surely they must
Exult to urge the powerful counterclaim
Of mighty Mars whose ancient shrines are dust,
But o'er the earth men spread his sacred flame
Fed with their lives, their fortunes—and their trust!*

—Bertha Lee Broyles

Americans complacently assume
that all is well in—

Japan Three Years After

By THEODORE D. WALSER

AMERICANS SEEM generally to have erased Japan from the list of their concerns. Such comments as are made refer complacently to MacArthur's "great achievements," to the comparative success of the Japanese occupation over the German, and to the celerity with which the Japanese have "embraced democracy."

Japanese Acquiescent

It is true that the Japanese have accepted with astonishing acquiescence the rule of an armed, foreign power. They did so in the beginning because their Emperor commanded them to surrender. Few but Japanese can measure the sacrosanct force of that authority! Moreover, there is no real alternative to acquiescence in a prostrated nation. As an economics professor writes from Tokyo: "The masses naturally take a realistic view . . . and accept [their present situation] as an inevitable consequence of surrender." As another recent arrival from Japan put it, "All Japanese are now pacifists." Finally, anti-Communist and anti-Russian propaganda has reduced the Japanese to a state where they almost welcome American protection. But to jump from all this to the conclusion that real peace has come to Japan is a 'non sequitur' of the first water.

It will help to clarify the situation to see just what happened after the surrender. At the start there was a pretense, at least, of setting up "democratic processes." Long overdue land reforms were effected, and a beginning made at liquidating the former capitalist cartels and interlocking directorates. An amazed and unhappy American visitor summed up the situation when he wrote: "Our directives to the Japanese government call for such sweeping decentralization of wealth, such breaking down of all financial or corporate structures, whether warlike or not . . . that it is highly unlikely that the country will be able to function or support its population." A liberal government with a Christian-Socialist Premier was elected, and it seemed for a time as though real freedom lay ahead for Japan if it could weather the severe dislocations certain to arise from so drastic and sudden a reversal of its economy. If, also, a treaty were written soon and the occupation brought to an early end!

Now, almost three years after the surrender, the foreign conquerors are still there, in spite of General MacArthur's statement a year ago that "military occupation could be terminated soon," and a treaty still waits to be written, though General MacArthur recommended

it to the Allied Council. In February the Socialist Premier resigned as a result of the Parliament's dissatisfaction with the Occupation's financial policies. The new cabinet—sixth since the war—is headed by H. Ashida, a well-known reactionary and former President of the *Japan Times*, the newspaper owned by the prewar and prowar Japanese Foreign Office. Ashida has promised to curb labor and check social unrest. Observers prophesy that his regime will be short-lived, but will be supplanted by something even more to the right, similar to the Democratic-Liberal Party established March 15 and dedicated to the "reestablishment of private enterprise." This would mean an end to all socialist controls.

Economic Stagnation

Another factor that tends to deepen Japan's dependence on the United States is the continuing economic stagnation. Occupation personnel have requisitioned the finest Japanese homes, and Occupation maintenance recently totalled one-half of the Japanese Government budget! Army and Navy personnel, along with some 27,000 civilian employees, live in the finest American style. The black market flourishes; the manufacture of commodities is almost nonexistent and legally sold foodstuffs cost more than 37 times what they did in 1933. The situation became so desperate recently that MacArthur said he would use Allied troops to back up the collection of taxes. A missionary writes that "there is no sure basis for the economic reconstruction of Japan," and the export manager of an American corporation that before the war did a vast business mutually beneficial to both

countries reported that "no private commercial transactions, other than those that have gone through SCAP, will be permitted until after the peace treaty is signed."

Tatsuwo Tanaka, Governor of Yamaguchi, pointed to "the lack of stability, necessitating food imports to Japan on the credit system every year since the occupation." Even though this year the government has been able to collect more than 100 percent of rice delivery quotas, increased contributions of food are needed and expected from the United States, although Japan's export industry is still deeply in debt for food already sent in. CARE has just begun operations in Japan this spring. No one can but rejoice that the hungry will be fed, but from the standpoint of those who want a final and just settlement of Japan's problems and not a degrading and humiliating system of charity, the restoration of Japan's own economy is greatly to be preferred.

Immediately after the war it must have seemed to those in authority to be to American interests to destroy Japan's capitalist system. A secret document outlining America's economic policy for Japan, known as FEC-230, proposed the break-up of all "concentrations of economic power." With the intensification of the "cold war" against Russia, however, criticism of this liquidation of "private concessions" mushroomed, and the economic deconcentration law forced upon the Japanese last December has been eased. Socialism seems doomed. The corporations (*zaibatsu*) are now rising to power under the directives of Wm. H. Draper, as Under Secretary of the Army. K. Nakajima, former Commerce Minister, has asked the Draper Mis-

sion to permit the re-screening of 4,700 "purged" business executives.

Christian people and pacifists had looked with disapproval upon the break-up of the only economic strength Japan had, even though it was that of the "vested interests." Now it seems even more deplorable that the reactionaries should be returned to power to suit our own imperialistic interests!

A final factor which causes peace-lovers considerable grief is the statement that General MacArthur recently made to a friend of the writer. He said that he was interested only in the "building up of Japan as a bulwark of Western civilization." The implications of such a statement in the present world situation are ominous. The United States has taken over 650 islands formerly owned by Japan; it has rebuilt the Sasebo, Yokosuka and Kure naval bases; and is completing now a \$13,000,000 North Japan Air Base. As a missionary friend recently wrote: "We cannot wonder that many of the most promising youth are turning to communism." The question inevitably arises whether Japan has not already become a mere pawn in the great game of power politics!

What Should Be Done?

(1) *The repatriation of Japanese war prisoners* from the USSR should be hastened. Possibly the repatriation of our own German prisoners, first brought from European battlefields to this country and then taken to camps in France and England, would set a good example.

(2) *Make a treaty with Japan.* This was recommended by General MacArthur over a year ago. H. V. Evatt, Australian Minister for External Affairs, stated more than four months ago that the delay in

a treaty for Japan was impeding stability there.

(3) *Revise reparations plans.* Eleven allies have filed claims against Japan to a total of \$54,000,000,000. Japan has already paid immense reparations through the losses of investments in Formosa, Korea, Manchuria and Sakhalin.

(4) *Open Japan to international commerce.* On March 20 last the Draper mission arrived in Japan and immediately an attempt was made to reestablish "the private capital market." In opposition the Japanese are insisting on complete freedom to determine their own economic policies.

However, whatever the results, Japan must be given access to raw materials and open markets. Even with these advantages, future progress would require the building up of a favorable balance of trade. Today Japan can buy raw cotton in the United States for dollars but cannot sell the manufactured product. Only a few private sales have gone through. Hence international commerce is impossible.

Immense relief will come when loans are granted to the Japanese government at low interest rates and free from political implications. Further credits for the purchase of commodities and raw materials must be established.

In these ways peace can be restored and Japan again be made a friend.

NO AUGUST ISSUE

As in the past two years, FELLOWSHIP will not be published in August. The next issue after July will be that of September, 1948,



Corporal Benny Speaks Up!

By ALFRED HASSLER

Illustrated by Ed Nofziger

The Army has a carrier pigeon that is thirty-one years old.

—News Item.

I HAVE always been a sucker for birds and, in spite of certain intellectual deviations about war that caused some clucking of tongues at the draft board, the reactions of generations of patriotic forebears still clutch at my throat when I see a parade. To read of a bird, therefore, that had loyally served his country for thirty-one years, probably for nothing more than a couple of bags of grain a month, set all my patriotic impulses aquiver. I packed my toothbrush and a stenographer's notebook in Grandpa's old haversack and set out to interview the Army's aged courier.

Corporal Benny, as the Army affectionately calls the pigeon, has an office in the Pentagon. He was sitting back on his tail-feathers, feet propped on the desk, smoking an old straw, when a respectful colonel ushered me in and introduced us. Benny was polite but brusque, as befitted an old Army bird, and we wasted little time on the amenities. He needed no urging to reminisce about his experiences, toying meanwhile with the ribbons and medals strung across his impressively barrel-shaped chest.

"I was born," Corporal Benny

explained, "in 1917—" he rose abruptly and closed the transom over the door—"abroad." He looked at me a little defiantly as he sauntered back from the door. "One can't be too careful, you know," he explained. "We find many of our subversives among the foreign-born, and I should not like any misunderstandings. I, of course, was born of American parentage. My father and mother served with a British unit, on loan, before our own brave lads reached France." He looked at me fixedly. "You realize how much I sacrificed for my country right there?"

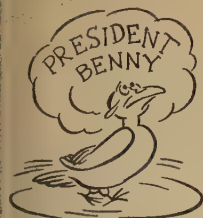
I nodded, but he could see that I was not entirely clear on the matter.

"I can never be . . . feet on the desk President," he said abruptly and with a catch in his voice, and a pregnant silence lengthened in the austere room with its mahogany desk and copper ashtrays. Then Corporal Benny regained his control and looked up with a brave smile.

"I do not hold with the notion that a military man should not be



President. In such perilous times as these our country needs the strength and decisiveness that come from military training—such qualities as I, and,” he added modestly



and parenthetically, “to a lesser extent, Generals Eisenhower and MacArthur, possibly.”

“But do you feel,” I ventured, “that a military career provides quite the background in the democratic process that an American President ought to have?”

“Never be President”

ess that an American President ought to have?”

Corporal Benny peered at me out of the corners of his eyes.

“Please do not misunderstand me,” he said, “but I find such suggestions commonly indicative of loyalty to a foreign power. No, wait!” he commanded with upheld wing as I started to protest. “I do not for a moment imply such a thing in your case. But it is a fact that many innocent persons are led into disloyal positions by the propaganda of subversive agencies.”

“Do you mean then,” I asked, “that it is disloyal in a democracy to question the qualifications of a military man for elective office?”

Corporal Benny regarded me austere.

“Certainly not,” he said coldly. “I never said such a thing. What I find of questionable loyalty is opposition to a candidate because of his military background.”

“But isn’t it true,” I persisted, “that Army life builds upon the assumption of orders that originate at the top and are obeyed without question in the ranks?”

“Certainly,” he snapped, “and a

little of such training would do some of our civilians a great deal of good. Our people are undisciplined. There is too much laxity of speech and thought at a moment when sinister forces threaten our very existence as a nation.”

“Freedom of speech—” I began.

“The Army believes in freedom of speech,” interrupted the corporal, “but freedom must not be confused with license. We cannot permit men to use our freedom of speech to destroy it and all our freedoms.”

“But can you have free speech that is free only for those with whom we agree?” I asked.

“That is the kind of intellectual gum-beating the Army despises,” snorted Corporal Benny. “You would sacrifice our whole American way of life to an academic defense of the right of its enemies to destroy it. I’d string them all up to the nearest pole, and a lot of these parlor-pink so-called liberals with them!”

There was a long and glowering silence, and I tried to get the interview back to where it had started.

“You began to tell me about your early experiences in France,” I ventured.

Corporal Benny’s eyes brightened.

“Of course,” he said, “Well, sir, I was drafted when I was only six months old. Before I was a year old I had flown thirty missions, been wounded twice, and decorated by the com-



“Our people are undisciplined”

manding general of our area. My biggest thrill of that period came when I carried the news that the Yanks had landed. My, that *was* a day!"

"Did you transfer to the American Army then?"

"Right away. I was at Chateau-Thierry with them. Had a narrow escape there, too. Bullet knocked a feather off right over my heart. If I'd been flying half a mile an hour faster it would have been curtains. As it was, I got the Croix de Guerre."

"Then what?"

"Well, the war didn't last much longer. When the weight of the American forces began to be felt, it was all over but the shouting."

He scowled at me with remembered wrath. "The military men you don't like had saved democracy for the world, but they turned the peace over to your precious civilians. *They* proceeded to coddle the Germans, strip our country of its arms and sink its ships, and let Hitler rearman Germany."

"It reads a little differently in some history books," I said. "I've read that victory came at least partly because Wilson's Fourteen Points, promising the creation of a truly democratic world, brought about the collapse of the German war effort. Then, when the war ended, the Allies incorporated a lot of vengeful clauses in the peace treaty, continued the food blockade of a starving Germany for months, refused to disarm as they had promised they would, withheld support from the democratic elements in Germany, and finally financed and encouraged Hitler and

the Nazis as a so-called bulwark against Russia."

Corporal Benny looked shocked.

"If you'll give me the name of the man who wrote that," he said, "I think I'd better ask Representative Thomas to look him over."

"What did you do after the war, corporal?" I asked.

"The years between wars were pretty dull on the whole," the corporal recalled. "I hate war, of course, as all soldiers do, but I must

say peace gets monotonous. I made a few appearances at patriotic rallies at high schools, but nothing of importance. The pacifists were strong then, and people didn't want to think about the Army."

"Any family life?" I asked.

Corporal Benny blushed.

"To the best of my knowledge," he said embarrassedly, "I fathered some sixty-seven children during those years. Of them," he leaned forward and pounded me on the chest, "sixty-three went into the armed forces. Three, unfortunately, were not fit and were liquidated."

"What about the other one, corporal?" I asked.

A look of pain came into his bright eyes.

"We don't speak of him," he replied bitterly. "He carried messages for the Emergency Peace Campaign. Last I heard of him, he'd been locked up in the Washington zoo for refusing to register."

"Did you serve in the last war, too?"

"I had a desk job," the corporal said shortly. "Did indoctrination writing for young recruits, and pre-



Locked up in the Washington zoo

pared plans for a pigeon unit under UMT."

"You favor UMT, then, corporal?" I pressed him.

"I certainly do. Selective Service, too. Best thing in the world for our youth. Besides, we have another war coming up, and we have to prepare for it."

"Don't you think we ought to be trying to make peace instead of preparing for war?"

"That's the only way to make peace, sir. You make yourself stronger than the other fellow, and then he's afraid to attack you."

"But isn't there a danger that his very fear may make him attack you, trying to win in one quick blow, as Hitler did?"

"Then you're prepared to strike back immediately. Either way, preparedness is all to the good. You either prevent war or win it."

"But if we have war," I said, "according to the atomic scientists, no one will win it and civilization will be destroyed."

"Hysterical exaggeration," snorted Corporal Benny.

"Have you evidence for that statement?" I asked.

The corporal flushed angrily.

"I don't ask you how to write your articles, do I?" he demanded.

"I leave that to you because you're a writer, and as long as you don't endanger our security, you can write as you please. Why don't you leave military matters in the hands of military men, in the same way?"

"Well," I said

"It hasn't affected me a bit!"

hesitantly, "I'm afraid the military men may endanger *my* security."

Corporal Benny's face froze, and he reached for a button on his desk.

"I'm afraid we'll have to terminate this interview," he said frostily. "Such talk makes me question my former generosity in assuming that you were simply ignorant. I suspect you of being subversive. We military men know how to handle these other nations, with the only language they understand—force. The sooner we get the youth of our nation into training camps where dangerous influences like you can't get at them, the better it will be for the country."

The colonel from the outer office was waiting in the doorway, but I turned to Corporal Benny once more.

"I don't think I'm subversive, Corporal Benny," I said. "I'm simply alarmed at the military's tendency to react to these problems in just that way, with a simple reliance on force, and I'm frightened at the way in which our government is falling into the hands of military men. Conscription of any sort, I'm afraid, will mean further indoctrination of our young men in the philosophy of militarism."

Corporal Benny smiled at me a little more warmly.

"Relax, son," he said kindly. "Your fears are groundless. Why, look at me! I've been in the Army all my life, and it hasn't affected me a bit!"



News from the Peace Front

War Resisters Work in Palestine

At considerable personal risk, members of the War Resisters International are distributing in Palestine a leaflet, printed in Arabic, English and Hebrew, calling on the Jews and Arabs to cease fighting. The leaflet urges all the inhabitants of the Holy Land to build their country through cooperation, understanding and peace, rather than destroying it by war.

World Organization for Gandhi Followers

At the All-India Constructive Workers' Conference of March 13-15, attended by over 500 workers from all over the country, it was decided to invite all who believe in Gandhi's ideals to join a worldwide brotherhood. The brotherhood will be called Sarvodaya Samaj, and its object will be to work for a society based on truth and nonviolence in which there will be no distinction of caste or creed, no opportunity for exploitation, and full scope for development both for individuals and groups.

The Samaj will maintain a register of its members and will hold an annual gathering on January 30 to enable members to exchange ideas and experiences.

It was also decided to bring into the Samaj the various autonomous specific organizations, many started by Gandhi, which are engaged in constructive work for his ideals, such as the All India Spinners' Association.

The conference expressed its concern for the growing communal bitterness of India, and for the destruction and suffering in the path of the recent riots. It will set up peace brigades throughout India whose function will be to create an atmosphere of peace and good will and to eliminate the possibility of further riots and disturbances, and if such clashes occur, to throw themselves between the fighting parties and bring reconciliation and peace.

Lawson and Trumbo Convicted of Contempt

Screen writers John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo have been found guilty of contempt of Congress for refusing to tell the House Un-American Activities Committee whether or not they were Communists. The trial of Albert Maltz, third of the ten scheduled to come up, was postponed indefinitely, until appeals in the first two cases have been decided.

On June 1 the Screen Writers Guild and thirty prominent writers brought suit to prevent the motion picture industry from firing and blacklisting screen writers because of their political beliefs. The ten men referred to above were fired after being charged with contempt of Congress. No proof whatever was put forward, either by the Un-American Activities Committee or in their trials, to prove that they actually were Communists or fellow-travellers. The point at issue is whether refusal to divulge political affiliation constitutes contempt.

German FOR Work Continues

In the early part of this year the Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship decided to adopt the village of Petzen in Germany, where Pastor Wilhelm Mensching, staunch FOR member and head of the German FOR, is the minister. In February Pastor Mensching called together a group of devoted people to decide how to allocate the first \$1,000 the village was to receive. Although food is not such a problem there as it is in the cities, in Petzen only eighteen sets of work clothes were for sale for the whole year, with a population of over 3,000, and there are no mending materials whatever to be found in the stores.

International Center

Pastor Mensching is working now to establish a modest international center in Petzen, "with the idea of bringing youth of various lands and beliefs together to teach them the life of peace. He believes that in playing, studying, working and praying together could be found the way to establishing Blessed Communities in our midst. Then too he sees in Douglas Steere's idea of Peace Cells great possibilities and he wants to train young people who can build these cells everywhere, people who can start in earnest to build a disciplined army of followers pledged to love and non-violence. . . . There are already people ready to start the active work, very good people," writes George Hogle, the American assistant to Pastor Mensching.

Pastor Mensching has had a wide influence among the people of the village, of which George Hogle writes, "It is one of the few places

where I have been where these ideas (of international understanding) have been taken over by the simpler folk, the peasants, railroad conductors, shopworkers, etc. Also a good number of the younger pastors in villages about here have a very deep regard for Pastor Mensching and the ideas." However, nationalism is still very strong in the area, and opposition comes from the conservative German Lutheran church.

Severe Criticism

"I have heard that there is often severe criticism from various quarters," continues George Hogle, "and recently it showed itself through a very serious breach with Pastor Mensching's bishop, who has not been happy with such a man under him. Some weeks ago Pastor M. took the opportunity in a Synod meeting of fellow clergymen to speak out against Luther's defense of war and of obeying the authorities when they ordered one to go to war. . . . Soon thereafter was received here a very formal letter from the bishop saying that since Pastor M. felt he could no longer represent the teachings of Luther and since he spent so much time preaching pacifism instead of the gospel as it should be from the Lutheran pulpit, he had better resign and go full time into the peace work. Pastor M. answered him very fully and earnestly, giving Christian bases for his belief and has received another unsympathetic letter in return. He means of course to see it through because to withdraw would be to let down the moral support of the young pastors who are still fairly new in the work and thinking. The vestry stands very much behind Pastor M. . . ."

Draft Bill Passes Congress

In spite of attempts both in the House and the Senate to filibuster and thus delay or prevent passage of the Draft Bill in the closing, hectic days of the 80th Congress, a compromise bill was approved by both houses. The Senate on June 11 had passed a draft bill calling for two years of service for unmarried nonveterans between the ages of 19 and 25. The House, after several days of stormy debate, passed one calling for one year of service and laying on the President the responsibility of starting the draft, only if sufficient enlistments could not be obtained.

The compromise, which was approved by both weary houses on June 19, the day set long ago for adjournment, includes the following provisions:

1. Men from 19 to 25 years will be registered and may be drafted for 21 months service.

2. Up to 161,000 eighteen-year-olds may volunteer for one year of service. This was a Senate provision developed as a substitute for a separate UMT program.

3. The draft law becomes effective when the President signs it, but there will be no inductions for ninety days.

4. The manpower strength of the four services was raised, from about one-half to two-thirds in each case.

5. Most veterans of World War II will be exempt. Deferments are included for married men, those with dependents, "necessary men" in industry, science, agriculture and other fields.

6. Conscientious objectors could be placed on noncombatant duty or, if they objected to this, be de-

ferred if the objection was found valid. Apparently complete deferment is implied. The Senate's original bill provided for non-combatant service or work "of national importance" under civilian direction.

7. A passing grade of seventy in general classification tests for volunteers must be accepted. The armed services had raised the passing grade to eighty, and were thus rejecting many volunteers.

The bill will be in force for two years, rather than the original five the Senate had proposed, and will then have to be renewed or dropped.

Supplement on Gandhi

Through the generous cooperation of the Pacifist Research Bureau, FELLOWSHIP is pleased to bring its readers another PRB supplement, this time on the subject of Gandhi and Gandhism. The Pacifist Research Bureau is at 316 East Court Street, Ithaca, New York; its Director, Harrop A. Freeman of Cornell University.

300 Clergymen Urge Resistance

In a statement released to the newspapers a few days after the enactment of peacetime conscription by Congress, over 300 clergymen, headed by Allan Knight Chalmers and A. J. Muste, urged "American Christians of Draft Age" to resist the draft by refusing to register. They also addressed the mothers, girl friends, family and friends of such young men, urging support for those who take that position.

The statement received widespread publicity in newspapers across the country.

Suspect Witches Inhabit Oak Ridge

In the latter part of May, two scientists on the Oak Ridge atomic bomb project were suspended, three more called before a loyalty board, and thirty others scheduled for investigation. The charges consist mainly of anonymous accusations of Communist leanings. One of the men, for example, left a copy of the Communist *New Masses* behind when he moved, and was informed on by his landlord.

The Oak Ridge Association of Engineers and Scientists issued a statement that such accusations and suspicions "seriously demoralized" them, and said it would be increasingly hard to get scientists to work on government projects.

Men Bite Greyhound

At the annual stockholders' meeting of the Greyhound Corporation on May 18, Bayard Rustin and James Peck, minority stockholders, presented through their lawyer a statement protesting the failure of the company to comply with the Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in interstate travel. The statement spoke of the attempt of a Greyhound driver to enforce segregation on them in April 1947, when they were traveling in the South, and appealed to the stockholders to urge the Corporation to abolish such discrimination immediately.

Although several Southern stockholders protested, the statement was included in the minutes of the meeting to be sent out to all stockholders.

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National Council Discusses Program, Civil Disobedience

Meeting in New York's Broadway Tabernacle on May 20-22, the National Council of the FOR discussed the world situation and the particular concerns of the pacifist movement, and made plans for the work in the coming months.

One of the most important aspects of the discussion was the report on Organization Emphasis and Program, presented by John Swomley for the staff, which emphasized the religious basis of the Fellowship and projected a concentrated campaign in colleges, theological seminaries, churches, and minority groups, with particular emphasis on work among students.

In addition to the religious basis, the message of the FOR to the world will include the development of small groups and cells, the political program of opposition to war, militarism and conscription, and promotion of disarmament, world government, removal of the economic causes of war; and the abolition of injustice in relation especially to race, civil liberties, labor, and offenders against society. These ends will be sought in part through the use of nonviolent direct action, which will be interpreted to the world by word and in action.

Training centers to develop more effective pacifist leaders will be established, and more use will be made of volunteer field workers. To help to keep the membership active and interested it was decided that at the beginning of each year, in connection with the appeal for financial support of the budget,

members should be given an opportunity to recommit themselves to the pacifist faith and way of life.

Draft Resistance

Brisk discussion was excited by the question of civil disobedience both at the point of resistance to the draft and by tax refusal. The report on Organization included as a point advocating refusal to register in the event of conscription, and that those above draft age should advocate such refusal. John Swomley cited the appalling degree of militarization in this country, and the control of the military over the ideas of civilians and Congress; and A. J. Muste said that a spirit of reconciliation toward all men and civil disobedience to a law which strikes at the root of human dignity and freedom were equally expressions of our love of God and our fellow men.

The Council adopted this resolution unanimously:

The National Council of FOR is opposed to conscription as well as to war. The Council reminds the membership of our common conviction that where there is a conflict between man-made values and the divine commandment we must obey God rather than men. Civil disobedience is accordingly one of the nonviolent means for resisting oppression and overcoming evil. Although members of the FOR are encouraged to follow the leading of their conscience whether it leads them to register or refuse to register, as an organization the FOR

believes that refusal to cooperate with conscription is a vital aspect of pacifism. The full moral support of the FOR will accordingly be given to such members of the FOR and members of the staff as may try to set forth to young men and others, by word or deed, their conviction that today resistance to conscription should express itself in refusal to register or in opposing conscription at some other point.

The Tax Committee reported its inability to agree on withholding by the FOR from someone conscientiously opposed to paying taxes. The Council discussed the question at considerable length, also without reaching agreement. Because this was felt to be a matter on which members should be fully informed, and because the Council was so far from agreement, the recommendation of the Committee that the positions for and against withholding be sent out to the membership in the midyear mailing was endorsed.

CP Fronts Discussed

The problem of avoiding entanglement with Communist front organizations while being careful not to join in the current hysteria and red-baiting was discussed. The Council adopted a statement which pointed out that the FOR has not in the past been, and is not now, engaged in organizational collaboration with the Communist Party or "front" organizations which are under CP control or follow the CP line over a period of time. On the other hand, it urged that the FOR should defend the right of Communists as well as others to free speech and other civil liberties, and opposed proposals to outlaw the Communist Party.

John Swomley, whose work with the National Council Against Conscription in Washington has been of incalculable importance in the anti-conscription fight, returned to full-time work in the FOR program when Congress adjourned in June. The NCAC will consider later whether to revise its program or suspend activity.

The Consultative Peace Council had discussed possible policy in the event of conscription. There was general agreement that it would be highly desirable to have an over-all central agency for servicing COs, similar to the Central Board for COs in Britain. The National Service Board at present represents the Brethren, Mennonites, and any other group actively interested in alternative service provisions for COs.

The proposed servicing agency would:

1. In no case assume any direct or indirect responsibility for administering conscription.
2. Represent the CO in legal actions, and to government agencies, but would not represent the government to COs.
3. Provide material counselling COs about laws and regulations, etc.
4. Service all types of COs.

The FOR, WRL and AFSC have confined their activities to straight opposition to conscription and have not even made efforts to secure provisions for COs, as have the Brethren and Mennonites. However, the latter agree with the former in rejecting any such arrangement as CPS was in World War II.

Jottings

Rosika Schwimmer, world-renowned feminist, pacifist and advocate of world government, has been nominated for the 1948 Nobel Peace Prize. Hers was one of the first cases of the denial of citizenship by this country to people who refused to agree to bear arms. In 1946, seventeen years later, the Girouard case was won in the Supreme Court, enabling foreign pacifists to become citizens.

* * *

Hanna Kirchheimer, a former member of the Forerunners, has won the Pepsicola scholarship for 1948. The scholarship entitles her to four years in college with all expenses paid.

* * *

A seminar on violence and non-violence will be held at Le Chambon from July 17 to July 29. It will study the historical role of violence, the positive significance of nonviolence, and concrete nonviolent means to be used.

* * *

The Record, official paper of the Roman Catholic archdiocese of Louisville, Kentucky, has declared that in the light of the recent Supreme Court decision against the released-time program, the Army and Navy chaplains corps must be unconstitutional.

* * *

The Senate on June 2 passed a bill to let 200,000 European DP's enter this country during the next two years. It was scheduled to be acted on by the House before adjournment June 19.

Parcels may now be sent to the Russian Zone of Germany through SAFE, 40 Exchange Place, New York 5, New York. SAFE food packages weigh 21 pounds and cost \$10.

* * *

Nine men were formally accused of the assassination of Mohandas K. Gandhi in India last January 30 and went on trial June 14.

* * *

Great Britain has frozen almost all prices, including most manufactured items. Food prices were already fixed.

* * *

General Charles De Gaulle on April 16 called for a general election which, he said, would enable him to head a strong government capable of facing the peril of Soviet Russia.

Read "PLANNING FOR WORLD PEACE," an interesting booklet concerning us—all to take part in it. Send fifty cents for your copy. Address Emily C. Hasenauer, Hayes Center, Neb.

BOOKS FOR PACIFISTS—We specialize in elusive out-of-print books in the fields of Pacifism, Race relations, Cooperative and communal living, Labor, Women's rights, Social gospel, Civil liberties, Quakerism, Political radicalism, and other social movements. Send us a list of your wants. Hi and Margaret Doty, Route 1, Chadds Ford, Pa.

Peace Interne wanted to work on subsistence basis for one year with Peace Section, AFSC Southern California Branch, 426 N. Raymond Ave., Pasadena, Cal., beginning October 1, 1948. Prefer unmarried, recent college graduate with friendly spirit. Appointment will probably be made by August 15.

TILL DEATH US DO PART, By Charles Wesley Amlin. Introduction by Carey McWilliams. Proposes completely new marriage law. With unconventional discussion of the religio-sexual. Send \$1 to Camden House, 2026 Camden Parkway, South Pasadena, Calif.



Books

Problem for Pacifists

Gandhi and Stalin, by Louis Fischer. Harper and Brothers, 1947. 183 pp. \$2.50.

Louis Fischer has one sobering thought for pacifists who may happen upon his anti-Russian treatise, *Gandhi and Stalin*. Mr. Fischer states that the success of Gandhi's nonviolent resistance campaigns depended on the existence of a "free democratic society" in England. When Gandhi was jailed and went on a hunger strike, Mr. Fischer points out, his fast brought immediate reactions in the London press, in Parliament and in British political parties and churches. He was able to influence public opinion and occasionally change British policies because he lived under a government that permitted news of Gandhi's resistance to be published and discussed freely.

Gandhi would have had no success in Russia, this author believes. Writing just before Gandhi's death, Mr. Fischer says: "Gandhi's ideas of democracy and Gandhi himself could not survive a dictatorship. A dictator would simply order Mr. Gandhi removed into oblivion. Nobody would ever hear of him again. Suppose half a million defied the dictatorship out of solidarity with Gandhi. They would be liquidated. Suppose three million defied the dictatorship. They would be liquidated. Suppose twenty million Indians defied the dictatorship. With

twenty million crusading Gandhians in any country the dictatorship would never be established in the first place."

If Stalin had ruled India, Mr. Fischer says, he would have squeezed the spirit out of Gandhi. "Mahatma Gandhi has never lived under a thoroughly totalitarian regime; his generosity and humanity make it difficult for him to realize how very cruel a dictatorship can be." Mr. Fischer spent a week with Gandhi in 1942 and another six days with him in 1946. He therefore has more personal knowledge of India's spiritual leader than most Americans. Yet I find it hard to believe his statement that Stalin could squeeze the spirit from Gandhi. Kill Gandhi, yes; but crush his spirit—never. And the last few months of comparative peace in India have shown that Gandhi dead is still a constructive force for reconciliation.

Mr. Fischer, of course, holds vigorously to his theory that nobody, not even a Gandhi, could possibly work constructively with Stalinist Russia or with any Communists. He repeatedly asserts that we are in a political war with Russia that cannot stop until Russia or democracy wins. He says, "You either fight for democracy during the peace or you fight for democracy in a war." Therefore he wants all non-Russian nations to set up an international government complete with

atomic bombs to stop Russian expansion, preferably by peaceful means. He presents all non-Russian nations as a democratic society, although he himself asks, "Can democracy fight dictatorship when there are dictatorships like Franco's in its own midst?"

Pacifists will probably be less willing than Mr. Fischer to renounce all hope of this country's reaching a working agreement with Russia. But there is much room for reflection on his statements concerning the fate of a Gandhian movement within a dictatorship. It does seem likely that any attempt to change the governmental policies of Russia from within by nonviolent means would be crushed at the outset. And any changes brought about from within Russia or without by violent means would hardly be beneficial to the Russian people. But if the non-Russian nations were to adopt even a small portion of Gandhism in their approach to the Soviet and to each other, who is to say that some changes in the Russian attitude could not be brought about from *without* by nonviolent methods?

—EDGAR L. JONES.

Family on the Land

Reclamation of Independence, by Willis D. Nutting. Berliner and Lanigan, 1947. 198 pp. \$3.00.

Western civilization, in the opinion of many students, has reached a stage that is not compatible with the survival of the family. When the family goes, civilization itself also goes. Next to the atom bomb, the greatest problem of mankind today is how to maintain permanent and successful family life.

There is but one way to do this, says Willis Nutting, professor of

history at Notre Dame. This is to regain the American ideal of self-reliant, creative, family living on the land. In a closely reasoned argument he shows how industrialism and monopoly have brought millions of our fellow men into a state of such complete economic dependence on their employers that real liberty has become impossible. Real liberty demands elbow-room and ownership of personal property, i.e., land and buildings. The inevitable outcome of modern wage-worker dependence is collective control of the economic system, which in turn results in a complete regimentation of society. In a mass-producing society this regimentation issues in general disaster.

Since neither the Giant State nor the individual can be a satisfactory foundation for civilization, the alternative is the family. "We must adopt a way of living in which each family can provide for itself many of its actual necessities; and those which a family cannot provide by its own efforts can be produced within the local community, so that in no case will the physical dependence of men upon other men extend beyond their own communities."

Dr. Nutting, a former Rhodes scholar, received much of his inspiration and guidance for establishing his own productive home, as well as for his philosophy, from Ralph Borsodi, leader of the decentralist movement. Like him, Dr. Nutting sees no hope in purely political remedies. Dr. Nutting places his emphasis on land-based families as the center of society, and urges the replacement of commercial farming by self-sustained farming, the development of community industries, and the repudiation of complete involvement in a money

economy. He calls it "the Green Revolution" because this way of life is rooted in the good earth. He is careful to emphasize that this demands some sacrifices—not of blood or of morality but of some material luxuries which we have come to consider necessities. "There is no one so situated that he cannot put part of this program into effect," Professor Nutting asserts.

Many of Dr. Nutting's concepts are so revolutionary to those educated in the conventional schools which place "standard of living" above "standard of liberty" that they are too often repudiated on wholly emotional grounds with the cry "You can't turn back the hands of the clock!" But since the issues involved are literally the issues of life or death for American civilization, they deserve correspondingly serious study. Many such students believe that when an insane person regains his sanity it has been a valuable "turning back." A similar good is achieved when a sick society regains its health through the rehabilitation of the family.

—MILDRED JENSEN LOOMIS.

Films of Interest

Italy Rebuilds. International Film Foundation, New York. 16 mm. black and white sound film. \$100, list price, may be rented from film rental library.

An extremely moving story of reconstruction in postwar Italy, focused on a single Italian family returning to its shattered village to start life all over again. Almost the only help comes through UNRRA, which sends food and machinery with which the people can begin to plow their fields and rebuild their homes. The film ends by asking what will happen to this family

and the many like them, who have been barely started on the road to rehabilitation and have little but their courage and their bare hands, now that UNRRA has been allowed to expire.

It will make every member of the audience want to do something immediately to help.

Round Trip. Film Program Services, New York. 16 mm. sound film in black and white. 20 minutes. \$57.50 list price, may be rented from a film rental library.

A portrayal of the role and stake of America in world trade, showing how it contributes to higher standards of living and peaceful relations with other countries. Presents the different viewpoints of American farmers, workers and housewives, and of foreign workers and the effect of our trade policies on them. Strikes a blow in the cause of internationalism. Not very smoothly done, and puts across a fairly elementary point of view, but of course that's what a lot of people need.

About the Ads

The editors decline advertising that is obviously unsuitable for the pages of *Fellowship*. However, years of being on the minority, or censorable, side of most burning issues have left them acutely unwilling to deny to other people the right to announce books, pamphlets or ideas with whose literary or other merit the editors may be in disagreement. Readers will please understand, therefore, that advertisements carry the endorsement of the magazine only when the *Fellowship* name is included.

Letters



Reader Squirms

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The new FELLOWSHIP is fine in format and content. That man Mayer surely makes a fellow squirm, but I turn always to his article first—and squirm—and squirm—and squirm. Then I spend the rest of the month thinking up justifications for myself! Then here he comes again and like a criminal returning to the scene of his crime I turn first to his article.

ELIZABETH H. REED
Fort Wayne, Indiana

Tax-Refusal Anarchy?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

For some time now, I have been awaiting an answer from somewhere which would head off this revolt against tax-paying on the part of certain of my brother pacifists. I have not felt like making an answer because of my personal regard for the persons whose consciences seem to afflict them, but a deep matter of principle is involved.

To me the matter resolves itself into a matter of anarchy—for or against. If Ernest Bromley and his coterie really mean to follow through the implications of their actions and become anarchists, then that should be the issue and not tax-paying. If they do not mean anarchy, then why pick on the income tax? If we go back to the struggle by which the income tax became a regularly accepted medium of raising revenue, we can see how really basic this system is if people believe in government

at all—that is, I mean good people. Who favored the income tax, and who opposed it?

In opposing the income tax before the Supreme Court in 1895, Joseph Choate, lawyer for the conservative moneyed classes said, "This tax will scatter to the winds the very keystone of civilization—the rights of private property." And the *New York Sun* editorialized, "The wave of socialistic revolution has gone far, but it breaks at the foot of the ultimate bulwark set up for the protection of our liberties," when the tax was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

Income tax came in by constitutional amendment on the wave of a reform just at the outbreak of the First World War. It was regarded by reformers everywhere as the solution to the great problem of economic inequality. Some will be cynical about the way it works out, but it is a powerful force at work to keep the economic system in balance.

In my judgment, we should not try to destroy the income tax but to increase it. I believe we would not need any other form of economic revolution and that the income tax should be the only form of taxation and that everybody should pay it. Just consider the alternatives.

Property tax. Do you favor this? It definitely discourages owners from making improvements and retards the development of our economic resources.

Amusement, alcohol, and luxury tax. Do you think the government should be supported by such activities and sales? Alcohol and tobacco are defended at every turn by the government because of the income they produce. Who kills the

ten which lays eggs of gold? The alcohol and racing kings like to pay taxes.

Land tax. Henry George thought this was the solution back in the 1880's when his *Progress and Poverty* transformed the "dismal science of political economy" into a religion of hope. He was right for the Victorian Era, but not for the Twentieth Century which has invaded the domain of alchemy and has established a realm of value not connected with land.

The sales tax. The sales tax produces great revenue, but it is primarily a tax on the poor. Do you favor that?

The present system of buried and hidden, hit-and-miss hodge-podge is certainly no solution, but why pick out the most idealistic form of all? Why object at that particular point? Do you pay the tax on a loaf of bread, on a pair of shoes, and on everything else you buy and yet refuse to pay the tax which is clear and in the open—a tax definitely on the side of the common people?

We will admit it is wrong for the government to take nearly eighty percent of your money to pay for past and future war and that when you pay your tax you are indirectly supporting war. But at the same time, everybody should see that it is impossible to live without being *particeps criminis* in the sins of mankind.

When you attack the income tax, you are accepting all these worse forms of taxation and striking at the very foundation of government itself. Of course, if that is what you mean to do, go ahead; but do it on the basis of anarchy and not pacifism.

I claim to be a pacifist. I went to prison in protest against conscription, and I would go again though I do not see how I could live through it, I hated it so. But I have paid income taxes and expect to again because I believe in government. I believe in accepting responsibility, and so at the same time I pay taxes, I feel I have the right to protest against the wrong expenditure of my money.

Unfortunately, the income tax has not

wrought the revolution once feared and hoped for. But it is a great equalizer and needs not to be weakened but to be strengthened. I believe that if all our taxes were reduced to one, and that the income tax, people would become more keenly aware of what the money was being spent for. In fact, we have good evidence of this awareness on the part of our conscience-motivated protesters. They could not become very much activated by the war tax paid on a loaf of bread, but this income tax is in the open. Let's have more income taxes and do away with all other taxation. Then we shall get somewhere as public conscience begins to wonder.

JAMES K. ALLEN
Dighton, Mass.

Disarmament Proposal

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Why do you folks keep batting your heads against a stone wall by asking for unilateral disarmament? Why don't you ask for complete national disarmament under strict international control, to be enacted successively in every country, *but not to become effective until universally adopted?* Thus you would take away the one argument of the militarists, the fear of arms in the hands of others, in advance, and you might get somewhere. Here's how it would work:

Some nation (India would be the most logical), should ask the UN to call a conference to draft a Convention which would enact: (a) complete national disarmament, other than police forces and a coast guard for maritime nations, both of which shall be of strictly limited size, equipment and field of operation; (b) absolute prohibition of all preparation by each nation for any armed conflict other than the enforcement of domestic law; (c) all necessary safeguards to in-

sure rigid application of all its provisions at the behest of nationals, aliens, representatives of foreign states and international organizations; (d) establishment of their powers and duties in fields where there is no existing organization capable of carrying out inspection and enforcement; and (e) the condition of universal passage before coming into effect.

Participation of the Military Staff Committee acting under Article 47 of the Charter, as well as legal, economic, scientific, military, naval and aviation experts from various nations would insure the practical effectiveness of the measures adopted to carry out the above objectives which neither the UNMSC nor the national experts would be permitted to vary.

This adapts the well-established and time-tested procedure of the International Labor Organization and its draft conventions on labor matters, to the question of disarmament. Since it has worked with outstanding success among many competing nations for almost 30 years as to labor, it should work even better among all nations as to disarmament, which all people everywhere yearn for desperately, if only they could be shown a practical way to get it, without leaving themselves behind the 8-ball at any time.

It is perfectly sound legally, strategically, politically, ideologically, psychologically and certainly morally. *What are we waiting for?*

FREDERIC C. SMEDLEY,
Waterbury, Connecticut

Last Word

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I request brief space to conclude my argument with "China Missionary" by commenting on one point of his reply to me in your May issue.

He says my piece on the Kuomintang dictatorship will give the Communists "much comfort and support . . . and will lead people at home who know nothing of the excesses of their regime to apologize for it . . ." Well, if this was the effect of my article, his original *Letter From China* had the effect of giving support to those who would have the United States aid and abet Chiang Kai-shek—and so put us further along the road to an atomic anti-Soviet crusade. On the other hand, there is no influential political group advocating American economic and military assistance to the Chinese Communists.

Further, I can guarantee to match from my personal files of a decade in China all the "excesses" of the Chinese Red regime with equally brutalitarian "excesses" of the Kuomintang regime of General Chiang. And this, from any humane—and also, it seems to me, from any Christian—viewpoint, is the crux of the situation: with my personal reaction to it being perfectly summed up in the classic last remark of Shakespeare's Mercutio.*

WILBUR BURTON
Winchester, Indiana

* A plague o' both your houses!—Ed.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; Northwest: Mary Farquharson, 1406 East 40th Street, Seattle 5, Wash.; Far West: Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.; Southwest: Glenn Smiley, Room 310, 127 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.

FELLOWSHIP

*America's foremost pacifist
magazine*

As your good deed for July, make it a point to give a subscription to FELLOWSHIP to a friend, relative, or minister who should be hearing the pacifist message. The individual approach brings results.

Group Project

For your group, try the technique used by the Toledo FOR. They bought a number of subscriptions to FELLOWSHIP, (we supplied them at a reduced rate), and sent them to libraries throughout the city. Now, a year later, many of these libraries are renewing their subscriptions, (at the full rate), and browsers will continue to find FELLOWSHIP, in its attractive pocket format, on their shelves.

The Michigan FOR has another good idea. They bought 100 subscriptions, (also at a reduced rate, of course), and are sending them to prospective members.

Try It Yourself

These are much more effective than mail solicitation of subscriptions, and FELLOWSHIP will be glad to make similar arrangements with other FOR groups or individuals. Just write us your plans.

THERE AIN'T NO PEACE!

My old, doddering grandpaw frequently makes remarks of singular pertinence and penetration. The other day, while sitting under the old gum tree in the back yard, he irritably brushed away a zooming mosquito and made the remark above.

I could not help thinking sadly how true it was. Greece, Czechoslovakia, Palestine, Germany, China—what a lot of trouble there is in the world, to be sure! But what could I, sincere and well-meaning though I was, do about it?

The answer came to me in a brochure. Go to the FOR Conference! it said. (Either one will do, they're both good.) Hear Chakravarty and Ferré, Hunter and Morrison; discuss the things that puzzle you with FOR members from all over the country; throw your own ideas into the hopper and tell what your group has been doing to spread the FOR message.

Eastern Conference
Pocono Pines, Pennsylvania
August 24-29

Western Conference
Estes Park, Colorado
August 31-September 5

Important Summer Reading

Are you the kind of person who takes six large books along on a two-week vacation and somehow never manages to find time to read them? If you are, try taking some of these next time. There's a lot going on in the world these days, and FOR members need to be up to the mark. Read the books and pamphlets below for edification and encouragement.

A. J. Muste

Not By Might

Courageously sets forth the way Jesus taught and lived as the practical way now for the individual and for the nations. The only definitive book on pacifism which deals specifically with the crisis between Russia and the United States.

\$2.50

Hermann Hagedorn

The Bomb That Fell on America

The spirit-shaking poem that faces Americans with the terrible problem of the atomic bomb.

\$1.25

CRUMBLING BARRIERS

By Constance Rumbough

The long-awaited pamphlet in which the former Southern Secretary of the FOR gathers from her years of experience some seeds of hope for racial harmony. Instances of the use of good will in tense racial situations in the South.

40c

ERASING THE COLOR LINE

By George M. Houser

Illustrating a different technique from that used in *Crumbling Barriers*, this pamphlet tells of the non-violent action projects which have been used so successfully in the North to erase discrimination.

40c

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

By Henry David Thoreau

15c

ENDS AND MEANS

By Aldous Huxley

\$2.75

THE NEW TESTAMENT BASIS OF PACIFISM

By G. H. C. Macgregor

50c

THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE

By Richard B. Gregg

\$1.50

WHITE CORPUSCLES IN EUROPE

By Allan A. Hunter

75c

Closed in August

The Fellowship shipping room will be closed during August, and no orders can be filled during that time. If you anticipate a need for literature in that period, please send in your order before July 20.